/21 cont./

793 of Cheikh, supporting the S. F. I. O., having gone so far as
*795 to throw stones into the "carré" of the Caliph-general. Cheikh
[666] had to restrain the socialist ardor of his talibés, who had gone too far. Such actions risk alienating from him the brotherhood /22/ and even the Administration, but he needs both in order to continue to carry on his policy.

His residence in Touba is located near the mosque, but on the opposite side from that of the Caliph-general. On the day of the Magal he tries to assemble there the greatest possible number of talibés in order to show his influence.

The cultivation of groundnuts is for him, too, an important source of revenue. His principal plantations are located at Taïf in the subdivision of Gossas, not far from the limits of that of M'Backé.

The other members of the M'Backé family have less influence on the life of the brotherhood. Nevertheless, they hold positions on the Murid Administrative Council, and they are settled around Touba and M'Backé.

[891] M'Backé Bousso heads an important Koranic school at Darou-Salam, just beside M'Backé. Abdoulaye M'Backé has settled at Boulel-Mody, at the extremity of the former valley of the
[312] Sine where, thanks to the permanent waterholes that exist at certain places in this dried-up thalweg, he has created rice-
[241] fields and orchards which complement his groundnut plantations, in the midst of which he lives. Modest and self-effacing in appearance, this M'Backé is in reality very rich and very influential, for he has as talibés principally salaried workers and city employees who send him a tithe from their salaries or their income.

Following the example of the direct descendants and collateral relatives of Amadou Bamba, his distant relatives, his allies, the descendants of his first collaborators have made themselves "Great Murid Marabouts." Spiritual and temporal leaders at the same time, instructing their disciples in the doctrine of the founder, and above all having them till the soil for them, these Sérignes have created in Baol and in adjacent

S /382 cont./
SR agricultural, 27% work wholly at Thiès, and 31% divide
162 their activity between the city and the country, depending
369 on the season and the labor market.

S Thus, the decrease in the cultivable area has brought
SR about a decrease in the number of cultivators. But the None
241 is above all a man of the soil, a peasant. Even as a laborer, he will not give up his bit of land which will give him a harvest. Each evening upon his return from work, he will take up his iler (1) and go to cultivate his lougan of millet

S
SR
[412]

1. Hilaire or iler: implement par excellence of the Senegalese cultivator, made up of a metal blade in the shape of a heart fixed to a long handle.

S or groundnuts. And if he has an occupation that suits him in
SR the city and in addition personally owns good land? He will
241 hire the services of a navétane (2) to whom he will relinquish
369
427

2. Seasonal agricultural worker.

a portion of his land and to whom he will grant some free time for his personal crops. This navétane will work his fields, and, through this procedure, he will be able to sell or amass a considerable harvest at the end of the year.

S An examination of the occupation of temporary or
SR permanent workers shows an important number of laborers,
162 19, of masons, 12, and a more modest number of boys
463 /domestic workers/ and shopkeepers, 8, out of a total of 71 workers. These results corroborate those given in the human study of the escale of Thiès.

S In spite of a relatively close urban neighborhood, the
SR number of inhabitants understanding French is very modest:
162 only 33 understand our language; 15 children out of a hundred
191 go to the nearby French school. These results may appear
[871] deceptive if one considers that all the conditions of the milieu seem favorable for closer contact with the European element.

/384 cont./

S 563 162 166 this problem.

At Keur-Issa-Bambara, out of 37 individuals born in the Sudan, 20 are over 40 years of age. At Karamoko, 28 are natives of the Sudan, but 18 have reached 40 years of age. Out of 65 individuals of Sudanese origin, only 27 are young elements. Over half of those classed under the rubric "emigrant" were aged persons, some of whom perhaps assisted in the creation of the village in Senegal.

These few figures are an index of the mediocrity of the present immigration of the Sudanese to the region of Thiès. The unions and the displacements of families or of familial elements seem to occur now between relatively close villages.

S 162 463 369 An examination of the division of activities at Diakhaté and at Keur-Issa-Bambara will permit to some extent "gauging" their index of urbanization.

At Diakhaté, 20% of the economically active male population work /385/ at Thiès, 60% have remained agriculturalists, and the remainder, 20%, is composed of workers of mixed activities, half-rural, half-urban. Keur-Issa-Bambara shows only a very low percentage of workers in mixed activities: 60% are rural; more than 30% work in the city (one sees that this latter figure is slightly higher than that for the None villages, 27%).

S [498] The workshops of the Dakar-Niger employ a considerable number of permanent or temporary workers from these two villages. These two localities in fact furnish 19 permanent city workers, 15 of whom are employed on the Dakar-Niger; among the four temporary workers from Keur-Issa-Bambara, three have worked in this enterprise. In addition, Diakhaté furnishes temporarily for the city: four tailors, one mason, and one carpenter.

W [463]

Let us add that a minority of natives, despite the contacts that they can have with Europeans, understand our language, a little less than 5%. The number of children who go to the European school is almost null, scarcely 1%.

S 162 [191] [871]

S 369 After this quick study of some types of villages in the vicinity

/428 cont./

* 511 796 [262] [735] For Korité, although meals more copious than usual are often provided, nevertheless the essential thing is the alms in millet or money that one gives to the poor through the marabout.

For these two celebrations, the percentages stated are not noticeably higher at the top of the table than in the lower part. If, for the first incomes, the family heads are often obliged to do more than their means allow, each seems to adapt himself subsequently to his possibilities (1).

1. For No. 43, the information given concerns the celebrations for Christmas and the first of January.

* 511 794 [875] The religious assessments are less numerous than the syndical assessments, but harder to bear. They exist in only three cases above No. 20, but represent 2% of the incomes, and 0.8%. They again noticeably increase in the lower part of the table. As for the gifts to the marabouts, they are perhaps more frequent than we have shown. Many families must have wanted to conceal them. Added to the payment for the teacher at the Koranic school (10 francs per week), these religious obligations end up by noticeably increasing the deficits that already existed at the start.

* 511 871 Just as certain products are encountered in only a few families in the case of the routine expenses, we are also going to find here some of another order, but often more important.

There is first the cost of sending the children to school; 13 families send their children to school, public or private, and the outlays made for this can be evaluated as follows:

/429/ /Table XV appears here/ /430/

No. 8: 0.8%	No. 17: 1.8%
No. 10: 0.5%	No. 20: 0.5%
No. 18: 0.5%	No. 28: 0.4%

[Text continues on p. 72]

/430 cont./

*511 871

No. 31: 0.5%
No. 38: 0.5%
No. 39: 0.6%
No. 40: 2.4%
No. 41: 4.4%
No. 42: 0.5%
No. 43: 5.6%

These percentages do not decrease. The explanation is to be seen in the fact that only families with high incomes send all of their children to school, and that, on the other hand, they often prefer, even Moslems, to send them to Catholic school.

*511 794 In three cases the family heads pointed out to us that in one year they were faced with the expenses occasioned by a baptism (which also requires a sheep). For No. 19 the cost represented 11.5% of the income, but only 6.3% and 3.4% for Nos. 26 and 31.

*511 593 602 But the heaviest familial obligation for many is the necessity of sending sums of money to their relatives who are in difficulties. For example, No. 3 sent to a brother a sum representing 2.5% of his income; No. 11, at two times, 4.4%; No. 24, 0.9%. Finally, No. 43 sends 8.2% of his income each month to his family and to that of his wife.

*511 595 Another familial obligation, this one desired: Nos. 18, 35, 38, 40, and 41 actually have two or three households, because they preferred not having all of their wives live together, a whim that comes to, respectively, 18.1%, 6.1%, 10%, 10.6% of their incomes. (The budget of No. 18 has a deficit of 15%.)

*511 357 Thirteen families employ one or several domestic workers. Moreover, all of them are located below the central income. Here is the portion of their budget that is devoted to this:

No. 24: 6.6%
No. 26: 2.2%
No. 27: 6.1%
No. 28: 1.5%
No. 30: 4.1%
No. 31: 4%
No. 34: 4.3%
No. 35: 3.7%
No. 37: 3.8%
No. 38: 2%
No. 40: 3%
No. 42: 1.7
No. 43: 11.1%

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privileges of French citizens; Dahomey, 121; Upper Volta, 17; Niger, 9. As late as 1936 out of a total population of fifteen million in French West Africa there were only 2,136 French citizens, with the exception of the citizens of the Four Towns or *Quatre Communes* of Senegal. Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff in their book *French West Africa* have suggested that this was because at that time 'the advantages conferred by naturalisation obviously did not compensate in the eyes of the great majority of Africans for acceptance of French law in regard to marriage and inheritance, and for the general shaping of their lives according to the European pattern'. This was only half the truth. Just as important a factor was the sparseness of facilities for education, the keystone to a successful assimilationist policy. As late as 1947 only 1.3 per cent of children of school age in Guinea were actually attending school. In Soudan the figure was higher at 5 per cent, Dahomey 10 per cent and Senegal 12.4 per cent.

In each case Senegal is the exception. Senegal sent a deputy to the French Assembly as early as 1848. Her first indigenous deputy, Blaise Diagne, elected in 1914, became Under Secretary of State for the Colonies on several occasions before his death in 1934. But the other territories of French black Africa did not elect deputies until 1946, though they sent representatives to the Constituent Congress in 1945. In 1848 the privileges of French citizenship were granted to all Senegalese living in the Colony, though they were allowed to retain their private law in matters of land, inheritance, marriage and divorce. It was only in 1946 with the passing of the *loi Lamine Guèye* that the privileges of citizenship were granted to Africans other than those who obtained naturalisation, which involved accepting French private law. In Senegal, the towns of St. Louis and Gorée were created *communes de pleins exercice* or full scale municipal councils in 1872 and seven years later a General Council on the lines of those operating in the French departments was established.

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colonies other than Martinique, Guadeloupe and Réunion and at the same time they were subjected to rule by direct decree of the Emperor.

It was under the Second Empire that the first great period of French colonial expansion in black Africa took place. It was during that regime that Faidherbe, who was to Senegal what Lugard was to Nigeria, first embarked on his African conquests. Faidherbe himself embodied this dichotomy in French colonial policy: an authoritarian agent of an authoritarian regime, he was often found introducing reforms and innovations that conformed with the most liberal application of an assimilationist policy.

Faidherbe was appointed Governor of Senegal in 1854. At the time St. Louis, according to Abbé Boilaut in his *Esquisses sénégalaises* was a city of 12,336 inhabitants with only 177 Europeans. There were two primary schools run by Catholic missionaries. A full scale administration had succeeded in imposing on a town otherwise consisting mainly of single storey houses, a governor's palace, a 'very elegant Palace of Justice', a large naval hospital, a fine church and an army barracks.

From his base at St. Louis, Faidherbe, in a series of brilliant campaigns, notably against the powerful emir of Trarza and the Muslim reformist and Toucouleur leader, El Hadj Omar, was to lay the foundations of France's West African empire. To do this he organised the now famous *Tirailleurs Sénégalais*, since Europeans did not stand up well to the climate and the prevalent diseases. By conquest or by treaty he brought most of modern Senegal and much of Soudan (Mali) under French rule. He installed an efficient military administration, and even published an official newspaper the *Moniteur du Sénégal*. Altogether Faidherbe was a remarkable man. He was a firm believer in the equality of races, and did much to increase the educational facilities of the colony. He established a school for the sons of chiefs, and lay schools for Muslims, who objected to attending the mission schools. Whilst Faidherbe wanted to

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encourage the evangelisation of the population, he[1] was sufficiently knowledgeable about the country and its people to realise that it would be impossible to win converts from among the Muslims who formed the majority in Senegal. Scholarships for primary education in St. Louis, and secondary education in France were awarded under his auspices to promising students. Small technical schools were established at Dakar. And he even opened a museum at St. Louis.

He tried to equip the colony with some of the benefits of a modern economy. He established the Bank of Senegal, laid out St. Louis afresh as befitted a capital city, and under his influence Pinet-Laprade founded the new port of Dakar. He promoted the export of the ground-nut crop, becoming increasingly valuable to the colony's revenue which rose from 12 million francs in 1848 to 37 million in 1869, and proved a profitable substitute for human merchandise. He made valuable and detailed studies of the local people. Like Lugard he seemed to be able to think of every aspect of administration at the same time. The historian G. Hardy wrote of him: 'He touched on everything, and always with good results.' But as J. Richard-Molard commented, 'He was the first great Frenchman to realise the wish of Barth. But he did it as an officer of the Empire, endowed with an abominable character and a sense of authority which bordered on vice. He was proconsul of an authoritarian Empire.'

One decision vital for the future of the Senegal was made during the Faidherbian regime: this was the final abandonment of any ideals of European colonisation. It came at a time when the French were settling Algeria, and was not altogether altruistic, as the ministerial instructions of 1859 showed:

> Nothing similar to Algeria could be undertaken in Senegal. The climate is against it. The land should therefore be left to the natives, at least as a general rule. It is by their hands that it should be cultivated and if our rule is to be extended over all the territory

[1] [i.e., Faidherbe, who became Governor in 1854--Gwalyst]

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till the end of the nineteenth century, neglected the Protectorate and seemed to think that the only parts of the country that mattered were the four communes. Naturally their official business with the Protectorate was limited, but they did control the three main ports of the country through which the products of the interior passed to France. The councillors, too, restricted education largely to the communes, where on the whole it reached a satisfactory level. They even sent students on scholarships to France, but unfortunately too few of these returned to Senegal to use their newly acquired talents. It was not until the establishment of the Government-General of French West Africa in 1905 that educational facilities were extended to the Protectorate in any great measure.

The increase in education amongst citizens of African origin meant that by the turn of the nineteenth century they were less willing to accept European domination in the communes and the General Council. The assertion of their rights is one of the main factors behind the attempts of the administration to deprive the indigenous Senegalese of their position as *citoyens*. Actually the Administration was batting on a good wicket. Technically a French citizen was one who accepted French rights and duties without qualification. In the case of the Africans in Senegal they had been allowed to retain their own *statut personnel*, that is private law, with reference to civil disputes, matrimony, divorce, inheritance and land. But this seemed to conflict openly with the definition of a French citizen. It seemed wrong that a man should exercise the rights of a French citizen and not accept the consequent obligations. Many Frenchmen felt it quite illogical that an African with four wives could yet be a citizen. And indeed in later years the main obstacle to granting citizenship to other colonial peoples was to be the question of retention of the *statut personnel*. Thus many of the attempts by the French to deprive the Senegalese citizens of their rights were the result of quite genuine objections to the illogicality of their position. Faidherbe,

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however the younger generation of Senegalese were
beginning to question the moral right of assimilation. These
critics were the educated élite, by-products of an educational
policy of which Governor-General Chaudié had written
in 1897: 'The school is the surest means of action by which
a civilising nation can transmit its ideas to people who are
still primitive and by which it can raise them gradually
to its own standards. In a word the school is the supreme
element of progress. It is also the most effective tool of
propaganda for the French language that the Government
can use.'

Ousmane Socé Diop, in *Karim*, a remarkable study of the sort of young Senegalese most affected by French assimilation, published in 1935, shows not only how effective this policy was in those early days, but also points to the awakening of the Senegalese to the values of their own traditional society.

On certain evenings in Dakar, Karim and his young friends would talk not only of love but of their political and social ideas:

> The teacher was there, reasonable, but capable at moments of behaving foolishly, such as over the beautiful eyes of a Senegalese girl. He was a 'progressive', a partisan of a plan of evolution with its basis in the fundamental characteristics of his people.
>
> The graduate, a know-all, spoke of 'cleaning-up Senegalese traditions and of bringing about an immediate and thorough Europeanisation.
>
> The doctor, a Catholic, adopted Western civilisation without question. Nevertheless, his atavistic temperament remained one with that of his own people.
>
> Abdou was born a Muslim and an oriental and had been educated at a French school. His mind had been nurtured on European ideas and logic. His heart had been formed within the curious framework of the *Khalam*, of French poetry and European music. He was a person of contrasts. He could dance to the tam-tam as well as do the tango, he liked Negro music and black girls, but also dreamed of Deauville, of Paris and of some film-starlet, a blonde blue-eyed Venus.

Later Karim is sent out to a small town in the 'bush' where he has to help with the collection of the ground-nut

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crop. Struck by the simple, uncomplicated ways of the bush compared with that of Dakar, Rufisque and St. Louis he reflects: 'The teacher and above all the graduate who spoke so often of immediate and complete Europeanisation, should be here to see for themselves.'

Ousmane Socé Diop has pin-pointed perfectly the growing conflict in the minds of the educated Senegalese at this time and the ever increasing gap between the peoples of the *Quatre Communes* and the *sujets* of the bush.

Furthermore the Senegalese student in Paris was beginning to question the rights of colonialism in general and the honesty of France's assimilationist policy in particular. He was hardly encouraged by the pronouncements of a leading politician during the twenties and thirties like Albert Sarraut who wrote in *La mise en valeur de nos colonies* that the colonies had a threefold purpose of serving France. First the numbers of France's overseas peoples increased her population from 40 million to 100 million, thus giving her a greater manpower than Germany. Secondly they could make a financial contribution to France. Thirdly they could supply her with the raw materials she needed. France's civilising mission, whilst important, was conceived of by Sarraut as a by-product of these functions. (Quoted in L. P. Mair, *Native Policies in Africa.*)

As we have seen, assimilationist professions were rarely matched by the facts. And indeed in other parts of French West Africa education was limited. But in Senegal France made a major effort in education, so that by 1940 there had already been formed a substantial African élite, particularly in comparison to the country's population.

By 1938 18,000 boys and 1,500 girls, taught by 132 European and 337 African teachers were at school; even so, a very low percentage of the population of school age actually attended school. Nevertheless this was considerably higher than that of any other French African territory. Children were educated according to French methods with few concessions made to local factors. The aim was not

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[813]

only to civilise them but to make them aware of 'France's achievements' in Africa. Thus, as Lucy Mair has pointed out, history was taught so as to justify French occupation of West Africa. Several important *lycées* and secondary schools were founded. The *Lycée Faidherbe* and the *Lycée Van Vollenhoven* were to provide the basis of the modern élite whilst the *Ecole Normale William Ponty* educated many of the present leaders of French-speaking Africa. It was this new generation of educated young men, produced in the late twenties and thirties, that was first to question the virtues of an assimilationist policy both on the political and moral plane.

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C48 The conference decided that the political future of the colonies should lie with France and ruled out all ideas of eventual independence. They did, however, insist that the colonies should be represented at the constituent Assembly that would draw up the constitution for the Fourth Republic at the end of the war. But they did not consider that the wider representation of Africans in metropolitan institutions would be as beneficial to the African colonies as the establishment of a Federal Assembly for France and its empire. These two suggestions were in tune with traditional integrationist and assimilationist thought, but in addition the delegates made certain proposals that implied considerable administrative and political decentralisation. They asked that assemblies should be set up for each territory, but on the understanding that they should work in close relation to the proposed Federal Assembly and that if possible the franchise should be as wide as practicable for Africans. They also laid down the principle of the dual college, so that Europeans could have effective representation. The administrators of the 'Republic one and Indivisible' were thereby advocating a considerable degree of administrative decentralisation, which in retrospect can be seen as vital to the subsequent achievement of independence by the various states of French black Africa. It was probably fortunate that the conference was one of administrators and not of politicians for their cogent arguments against the inefficiency of the pre-war, highly centralised empire were accepted eventually as directed towards the achievement of a more efficient working of the empire rather than as an attempt to break it up as they certainly might have been had such criticisms come from African politicians. On the other hand the conference made it explicit that decentralisation did not imply independence. All possibility of autonomy outside the French bloc was excluded.

641 C48 871 The conference was highly assimilationist in its recommendations for individuals particularly as regards political

7/1 [i.e., Brazzaville Conference, 1944--Analyst]

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and juridical rights. The old signs of inequality, the *indigénat* and the hated corvée were to be withdrawn, the latter after a period of five years. Education was to remain exclusively French, though Eboué put in a plea for the recognition of the values of traditional society. The problems of granting French citizenship to Africans without prejudicing their *statut personnel* was to be solved within the framework of the proposed Federal Parliament for France and her overseas territories. Africans would thus have citizenship of this larger Federation rather than of France itself and would not therefore have to give up their *statut personnel*. The new principle was first applied in March 1944. French citizenship was extended to a number of Muslims in Algeria who were allowed to retain their *statut personnel*, on the same terms as the *originaires* of Senegal had been. Finally the conference proposed a large scale development programme for the overseas territories.

In the Constituent Assembly which was to deliberate on the constitution of the Fourth Republic, sixty-four seats were given to overseas deputies, a fair number going to Africans. Two socialists from Senegal, Lamine Guèye and his lieutenant Léopold Sédar Senghor, the first African to become a *professeur agrégé* of the Sorbonne, played a leading role in the debates of the new constitution, attacking remnants of Vichy racialism amongst colonial officials, decrying the ban on freedom of meeting and association, and above all denouncing the corvée and *indigénat*. The first Constituent Assembly of 1945, liberal in outlook, was deeply concerned as to how the Republic could remain one and indivisible and yet accord any degree of autonomy to the overseas territories. This was settled by proposing that the overseas territorial assemblies be thought of as equivalent to the *conseils* of the metropolitan department just as that of Senegal had been. The colonies, instead of forming a federation with France as proposed at the Brazzaville Conference, were to participate in a French Union much more integrationist in character and within

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leaders had to work so ardently and patiently many decades later. Where it has often seemed to be the policy of European powers to divide and rule, here the French positively encouraged the creation of a Senegalese identity. Faidherbe created the *Tirailleurs Sénégalais*, whereas Lugard called his force the Hausa Constabulary. For many years, Senegal has had a romantic and sentimental place in the eyes of the French, and the *Tirailleurs Sénégalais*, who in fact enjoyed the services of recruits from all over West Africa, are known by most Frenchmen for their services to France in both world wars. This concept of national as distinct from tribal identity in the *Quatre Communes* also influenced the educated élite from the Protectorate who were determined to participate in the privileges of the *originaires*.

A policy of assimilation that has the aim of eradicating the African past and the creation of 'black Frenchmen', when applied thoroughly, did in fact help to eliminate tribal differences and create a new common culture. In particular, education, which grouped children of different ethnic groups side by side, made no concession to local circumstances. They were taught about 'our ancestors the Gauls' and in the best schools standards were the same as those in France. Instruction was in French from the very first years, and the school uniform was in European style. They were thus given a common meeting ground from the earliest age, with almost no concessions made to their own ethnic differences. Large numbers of Senegalese have been to France for their education ever since the days of Faidherbe, and in France they found themselves automatically dubbed as Senegalese, for few Frenchmen had time for the niceties of tribal distinctions.

It is not surprising, then, that particularly among young men many friendships were made outside the tribe. Indeed today in Dakar it would be rare to find a young man with primary education who could not count many friends from outside his own ethnic group. Marriage presented different problems. For if the young man had overcome sensitivities

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433 668 reaching economic development plan. Mamadou Dia has described the plan as the 'décollage' or taking-off point of the country's development. The plan is the expression of the African socialism of which Senghor and Dia have so long dreamed. It has two important points. Relatively little emphasis is placed on industrialisation, and fundamental to the development of the country are [494] 'rural animation' and co-operatives through which the people will be made aware of the great future that could be theirs if only they co-operate in the realisation of this plan. Already 80 per cent of peasant farmers are organised in co-operatives.

Senegal's economy is based today on the export of its ground-nut crop of just under 800,000 tons a year. This has been produced to the detriment of subsistence crops, with the absurd result that Senegal, a basically agricultural country, is importing foodstuffs to the tune of £15 million a year. Furthermore there has been a great disparity in the economic and social development of the towns in com- [369] parison with the bush. Thus whilst Dakar is one of the most modern and prosperous towns in West Africa, the Vallée du Fleuve is abysmally poor and Casamance hitherto neglected. Thus the emphasis is on rural development; the [871] extension of educational facilities to a population only 30 per cent of whose children go to school; then the increase in medical facilities; the supply of water to villages without it; and in particular the opening-up of hitherto neglected regions by improved communications, which includes the [491] tarring of over 1,000 miles of roads and improvement of 600 miles of dirt road. But above all the emphasis is on the increase of home food crops and the widening of the variety of foodstuffs available to the peasants. It is estimated that if the plan works out, then the global index of production, taken as 100 in 1959, will be up to 137 in 1964. New industries such as the phosphate works at Taiba, an oil refinery, chemical factories and textile printing works will provide 10,000 new jobs, and thus absorb some of the unemployed

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school leavers who characterise every West African town from Dakar to Douala, and whose numbers will increase in future under the new plan, since by 1964-65 it is hoped over 50 per cent of children of school age will be at primary school.

The whole plan is to cost £135 million, much of the money to be drawn from abroad, and much from private sources. As can be seen from the table below the emphasis is on social improvement rather than the creation of great gesture industries.

	Percentages	
	Of public investments	*Of total investments*
Infrastructure	33·9	18·75
Agriculture	18·0	13·4
Commerce and Industry ..	7·0	44·4
Education	12·2	6·7
Health	5·3	2·9
Housing	7·2	10·9
Administrative	5·5	3·0

It is a socialist plan at heart. The state will be taking over large sectors of the economy. Already the state trading organisation for the marketing of ground-nuts with the aid of local co-operatives has taken over the marketing of over a quarter of the crop from private commerce. But it is doing this in direct competition with them, to ensure that the organisation is commercially viable. Senghor believes 'Where private capitalism comes into peaceful competition with socialism, the latter must, I feel sure, emerge triumphant . . .'

On the other hand Senegal is not trying to discourage private enterprise, for, as can be seen from the above table, it accounts for much of the capital for the plan. Indeed, particularly favourable concessions are made to it. What

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

standing in the modern context does not often completely redeem a traditional inferiority. The latter obviously does not prevent accession to such rank, but it does prevent a man from reaping the full benefit of the prestige which it confers. We shall have to revert to the ambiguity which thus characterizes individual situations, because it is an important aspect of the problem of the modernist elites. The old political organizations have either been destroyed or considerably weakened, though the prestige of the aristocratic families who hold the chefferies or are closely connected with them has not completely disappeared. But an important change has occurred: the power and influence of the traditional political chiefs has to a large extent been transferred to the khalifas of the great Islamic sects;[3] the latter represent today the principal force capable of resisting the modernist elite, and the one with which the latter and the political movements identified with it must to some extent come to terms.[3]

The changes due to the new economic conditions resulting from the colonial period can be discerned at several levels. The rural economy has been radically transformed—progressive abandonment of subsistence farming in favour of a single cash crop throughout a large part of the territory.[3] In contrast with regions where a plantation economy has developed, the average farmer's income has remained extremely low. Consequently, what has elsewhere been termed a 'rural bourgeoisie' has not emerged, and the most favoured economic categories coincide, by and large, with the upper strata of the traditional or semi-traditional type (heads of sects),[4] or with those artificially created on the same model by the colonial administration. Again, the group to which the name 'commercial bourgeoisie' has been given is still too small to have much influence;[5] almost all African traders are small shopkeepers and make no appreciable impact on the affairs of the community as a whole. The most significant changes are found at another level: urbanization and industrialization. Senegal is the most highly urbanized territory of French West Africa; about a quarter of the population live in the big towns and the administrative and trading centres. A very large wage-earning class with a steadily growing nucleus of stable labour has developed.[6] A workers' elite has appeared, and intensive trade union activity in the big towns has brought this class into touch with the educated elite (the administrative bourgeoisie, etc.).

This educated elite deserves special attention; in Senegal more than elsewhere, it represents the dominant element among the modernist elites. The educational policy was definitely conceived and organized at the beginning of the colonial period in the context of a policy and a ideology of assimilation. The educational curriculum introduced in the French establishments in Senegal at the beginning of the nineteenth century was essentially foreign to the tradition and culture of the autochthonous societies. Thus, in a recent paper, the author made much of the point that 'it was not a factor making for integration of the individual in his group, but rather—at any rate in the first historical phase—one making for a break. The adaptation of the curriculum and even of teaching methods

1. Their functions are hereditary.
2. Cf. below, remarks on the political parties of the traditional type.
3. In this case, groundnuts.
4. The economic role of the Mouride brotherhood is particularly important: colonization of new lands, experiments in mechanization, etc.
5. The middle-man trade is practically monopolized by the Lebanese colony; in the town of Dakar alone there are more than 5,000 Lebanese.
6. The region of Dakar alone has more than 30,000 wage earners in the private sector.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

to the African social environment was scarcely taken into consideration. The fact that the African languages were, and still are, totally excluded, even in the lowest school classes, brings out this tendency quite clearly, whatever the justification that may have been offered on practical grounds. The original policy has of course been relaxed in certain points; the principle of adjusting the French educational system to local conditions has been accepted—the adaptations being concerned however more with the physical than with the social and human framework. But the basic tendency remains.'

However, the schools could reach—and still reach—only a fraction of the population. And so the training of an 'elite' came soon to be regarded as a necessary first stage in the process of assimilation. The two ideas emerge closely intertwined in Faidherbe's famous declaration of 1860: 'Everyone can reach the same goal when he satisfies the conditions required of all of you alike, conditions which we are today putting within your reach. You see young men from the Christian families of Saint-Louis, who after a good start in the mission schools, go and continue their studies in a secondary school in France, come back fit for filling the highest positions in the colony. That road is open to you all alike. We are ready to facilitate access to the liberal professions for every child who shows exceptional talent at school. . . .' As a matter of fact, those, as yet few in number, who at the start of the colonial period received instruction on Western lines were supposed to be the answer to immediate, limited needs. The main object was to train interpreters, lower grade civil servants, clerks, etc., as the indispensable auxiliaries in the establishment of a colonial administrative and commercial system. Their role was a humble one, but they shared in the prestige of the European group and also, to some extent, in its privileged economic position. The notion of an elite rapidly acquired a wider and hazier signification; it came to cover all those who were thought to serve as a link between the colonizers, the bearers of civilization, and the untaught masses who were destined gradually to acquire it. In fact, the eager adoption of European values, and the acceptance of assimilationist policies characteristic of the period up to the last war, accentuated the trend towards a rift between the indigenous elite and the masses who still adhered to their traditional cultural and social systems.[1] A point deserving emphasis is the considerable attraction exerted by the centres of assimilation, notably the 'four communes',[2] the natives of which very soon received French citizenship, and in which education developed much more rapidly than elsewhere.[3] These events in the recent history of Senegal explain why prestige in modern times was focused on the 'intellectual' elite,[4] and why the latter made a considerable impact on that colony sooner than they did on the other French West African territories.

Intensive investigations have been made in the principal urban centres of Senegal[5] to ascertain the aspirations of the various population classes and the models they adopt. They cover adults as well as children. More summary samplings taken in rural surroundings show that there is less difference in this matter between the city and the country than might have been supposed.

1. Firm links subsisted, however, as will be seen later on.
2. Dakar, Gorée, Saint-Louis, Rufisque.
3. Multiplication of primary schools, introduction of secondary education, etc.
4. Taken in a very broad sense; for a long time, the mass type of this new intellectual elite was the *serigne* (the holder of the primary school certificate).
5. By the sociology section of the Institut Français d'Afrique Noire.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

This is a significant fact; high prestige, more or less definitely acknowledged by the whole population, crystallizes around professions, functions or situations which are considered to be 'intellectual'—implying in fact a minimum of Western-type learning. Prestige on economic grounds seems to be definitely on the decline.[1] At Dakar, Thiès and Saint-Louis du Sénégal, adults were questioned about the trade or occupation they would like their children to take up. A vast majority of the socio-vocational categories (unskilled and skilled workers, traders, clerks, civil servants, etc.) from which the population sample under study was taken gave the same answer. Between 65 and 80 per cent mentioned an intellectual profession. Those most frequently cited were teaching (primary or secondary school teacher) and the liberal professions (lawyer, doctor, etc.); the technological professions (engineer etc.) were much more rarely specified.[2] One of the commonest answers was that vague but highly significant term, 'civil servant'. The fact is that the trend of education in the period before 1945 helped to establish a very close link between education and a job in the administration; this is still the case, despite the changes effected in the last few years. Similar attitudes are found in the results of surveys among children in the primary schools at Dakar. Among those who replied specifically[3]—about three-quarters of the children questioned—more than 80 per cent expressed a preference for an occupation considered to be intellectual, irrespective of their father's occupation; next came certain manual trades, with commerce far behind. The choice of an unspecified administrative job was less frequent than among the adults. It follows that the view generally taken about education—including primary education—viz. that it will lead almost inevitably to an intellectual occupation,[4] however modest, remains very stable; but it is less and less in keeping with the realities of the situation.

A brief study of the facts in the development of the educational system will allow us to make a first evaluation of the system. The crude school rate rose rapidly from 1946 to 1953 and has since continued to rise pretty regularly (16 per cent in 1953, 18 per cent in 1954, about 20 per cent in 1955). Senegal's early advance in this respect explains why the increase is less steep there than in most of the other French West African territories.[5] True, the school rate is still relatively low (and a fairly large proportion of the children do not complete even the primary course and will probably soon lose such learning as they have acquired), but a plateau was reached several years ago: primary education turns out many more pupils than the 'administrative bourgeoisie'—characteristic of the colonial period—or its equivalent in private enterprise can absorb. Formerly, the surplus of the educated population could be absorbed by the manual trades or by migration to other territories. But this second door is gradually closing now that these other territories are catching up in education. Moreover, the slow pace of economic expansion precludes any big increase in the number of openings for technical workers or in the supervisory grades in industry.[6] This is the justification for the talk about the educational over-

1. Material security (e.g. that enjoyed by civil servants) seems to be desired more often than actual wealth.
2. They are only beginning to acquire some prestige; the number of students choosing this branch has risen considerably in recent years.
3. Children from 10 to 14, in the 'intermediate' classes.
4. A job in the bureaucracy was for years the standard aim.
5. The school rate in the Ivory Coast almost trebled between 1946 and 1955.
6. Limited, but chronic unemployment, already exists in Dakar.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

571 198 871 equipment of Senegal in relation to the existing employment market. These facts must, however, be considered from another angle. The real problems are those of the true integration of education into a developing social environment, its adaptation to various local situations, and the adjustments which must be made in the Senegalese people's conception of education. These problems look, of course, more acute in the big towns, particularly in the former 'centres of assimilation',[1] which have often reached a relatively high school rate (sometimes more than 50 per cent); in many rural districts the [369] critical phase is still a long way off. Recent changes in the position are marked by another important feature to which I shall revert at greater length: the difference in the distribution of the school population classified according to the various kinds of education. The past 10 years have been marked by the development of secondary and technical education, and the introduction of local higher education. At the beginning of 1955, pupils and students were distributed approximately as follows among the different types of education: 87 per cent in primary schools, 9 per cent in secondary schools, 2 per cent in vocational training schools, 2 per cent in higher education and its various equivalents.[2] At the same time education in French West Africa ceased to be an almost isolated system providing degrees and diplomas which were not recognized in metropolitan France and qualified their holders only for subordinate positions in most occupations.[3] The intellectual elite is becoming steadily more diversified. Its ideals are being noticeably modified; some of its prestige values are being revised; the masses are beginning to change their idea of what they mean by the elite. This is a transitional stage, with its own special tensions.

198 571 369 871 At this stage in the development of education—the outstanding fact in which is that, particularly in the urban primary schools, the demand exceeds the supply[4]—the signs are already fairly evident of a trend towards less mobility in the social scale. The prospects of reaching the ranks conferring most prestige differ in the towns and the rural zones, for the reasons already indicated. They are also tending to be less evenly distributed among the various sections of the urban population as the latter becomes more diversified. It is not, however, a case of the urban population breaking up into closed or nearly closed groups; none of the discernible social categories are of this character, nor can they be in any way likened to social classes.[5] In particular, relations based on kinship in the widest sense of the term continue to play a fundamental [609] role, and maintain in being close ties among all the individuals composing the family group. Severance of these relations occurs only in extreme cases. Nevertheless, a trend towards the crystallization of social categories does appear, through the mere accumulation of circumstances.[6] The problem has been studied in a recent work the principal points of which I will venture to [463] recall.[7] A survey of the urban district of Dakar—confirmed by later research in other cities—showed certain significant differences in the social origins of

1. The 'four communes' mentioned above.
2. Including young people studying in France.
3. Even in teaching, medicine, etc.
4. In Dakar it became necessary to establish part-time classes to meet an ever-rapid increase in demand.
5. Cf. P. Mercier, 'Aspects de la Stratification Sociale dans l'Ouest Africain' (Aspects of social stratification in West Africa), *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie*, XVII, 1954.
6. Studied, e.g. by G. Balandier, in *Sociologie des Brazzavilles Noires* (Sociology of the coloured population of Brazzaville), Paris, 1955.
7. Cf. P. Mercier, op. cit.

/179 cont./

121 the ethnic group, the two principal criteria of miscegenation. But, at the beginning of the investigation, besides the primary distinction between illiterates and literates, we thought that we could distinguish two groups within this last category. In fact, the literate group is too small, the educational status too limited -- among the family heads of the sample none had had any secondary studies -- for one to be able to retain this subdivision. Therefore all those who had had a minimum of schooling, from the second year elementary course up to C.E.P., with an occasional C.A.P., have been considered literate.

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/180/ Nevertheless, by combining schooling and the knowledge of French, we have been able to group the family heads of the sample into three categories. The first is made up of the illiterates who do not understand French, except for a few words; the second is made up of those who have a "summary" knowledge of the language, and in this case it is obviously a matter of a partly subjective criterion which depends on the judgment of the investigator. Actually, the decisive test was the following: those for whom the interview of the second investigation was conducted in French and who only rarely appealed to the interpreter were regarded as having a summary knowledge of French. There are very few cases where the conclusion obtained by the application of this test did not confirm the previous judgment of the investigator.

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The third category, finally, includes the "literates" in the sense in which we have defined them above.

The following table represents the grouping, in percentages, of these three categories within each ethnic group; furthermore, the districts have been separated from the quarters, and the last line gives the average for the whole of Pikine. /Table 14 appears here./

Three principal facts stand out clearly from a reading of this table:

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/181/

1) The small number of literates: a little more than one out of five family heads have received a beginning of

[Text continues on p. 37--Analyst]

10: Thoré--36 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS 37
/180/
1918711

Table 14

Ethnic Group		W	S	T	P	M	B	O	Av.
Quarters	Il.	45.7	9.1	31.6	20	21.4	37.5	31.5	43.3
	S.	33	27.3	50	60	78.6	50	50	39.5
	L.	21.3	63.6	18.4	20	0	12.5	18.7	17.2
Total		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Districts	Il.	17.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	4.9
	S.	23.6	0	50	50	--	20	0	28.5
	L.	64.7	100	50	50	--	80	100	66.6
Total		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
General average	Il.	43.8	56	27.28	9.1	78.6	28.5	28.5	40
	S.	32.8	24	50	77	21.4	43	45.8	38.5
	L.	23.4	20	22.72	13.9	0	28.5	25.7	21.5
Total		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: Il. = illiterates; S. = summary knowledge of French.

/181 cont./
191 academic training.
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2) The great difference between the districts and the other quarters: the percentage of literates in the districts is almost four times the corresponding percentage in the quarters.

191 3) The very special situation of the Moors: they seem
871 distinctly refractory with regard to modern education and do not
563 show any more evidence of an aptitude or a very urgent desire for the study of French. This trait is characteristic of the originality of the Moorish community. It is not merely a sign, however, but is also a factor, and, as such, it contributes strongly to the withdrawal of this community and to its cultural isolation in the midst of the nascent urban civilisation. The Moor has managed to integrate himself in the city -- it would be more accurate to say thrust himself into the city -- without changing his habits of life very much and by keeping intact the compact homogeneity of the group.

191 It is likewise necessary to note another tendency, although less obvious than the preceding ones: the Wolof and Sérère family heads who do not speak French are superior in number to those who speak it; this proportion is, on the contrary, reversed in the other ethnic groups. One must probably seek the cause of this variation in the fact that Pikine is a city close to the Wolof regions and that Wolof is the lingua franca there. The Toucouleur, Bambara, Soussou /Susu/, or Mossi come from much farther away, they have often "labored" in several places before ending up in Dakar, and this experience has not failed to give them some rudiments of French acquired in the course of their previous migrations.

191 The evaluation of the preceding results, no longer ac-
871 cording to ethnic group but according to age class, gives other indications which at the same time indirectly confirm the above remark. /Table 15 appears here./

/182/ The percentage of literates in proportion to the whole of an age class decreases in proportion to the increase in age. There are proportionately six times more young

/182 cont./

Table 15

Age Class	20-30	30-50	50 +
Illiterate	38.7	34.1	60.2
Summary knowledge	6.5	41.9	30.6
Literate	54.8	24	9.2
Total	100	100	100

people than old who have received a beginning of academic training. Besides, the young people from 20 to 30 years old have either been to school or do not know French because they have not had occasion to learn it outside of school. Thus the generations show a distinct difference, and this can only become more pronounced as an examination of the actual number of pupils enrolled shows.

Here is first the table of the attendance ratio; it refers to children from seven to 14 years old, divided by ethnic groups and sex. /Table 16 appears here./

A comparison with the results of the same inquiry, conducted the preceding year, despite the possible variations of the sampling, indicates distinct progress for the girls, from 62.5% to 82.6% for the boys, and an average of from 45.3 to 63.9. Nevertheless, a great effort must still be made, especially on the part of the female population, since one girl out of two still does not go to school. Let us now distinguish the attendance ratios in the districts and in the quarters. /Table 17 appears here./

/183/ The difference is great between the school behavior of the districts and that of the quarters. First the total: almost all of the children in the districts go to school, nine out of ten, while this proportion drops to three out of five in the quarters.

SU SR F 162 811

Table 16 [1]

Ethnic Groups	W	S	T	P	M	B	O	Total
Girls	32.65	88.6	46.9	50	100	75	61.54	47.32
Boys	92.5	64.7	79.16	66.6	44.4	72.2	75.86	82.6
Girls + boys	52.58	75	56.16	55.5	68.7	73.5	69	63.9

[1] /school attendance ratio of children 7-14 years old in the city of Pikine. See cat. 116 pp 38 and 41 for explanation — AN/

/182/

10: Thoré--39 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS39
Serer FA32
Fulani MS11
Rel

SU SR F 1627 8U1

10: Thoré--40 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS37 WOLOF MS30 SERER FA37 Fulani MS11 Pul

Table 17 [1]

Ethnic Groups	W	S	T	P	M	B	O	Total
Q	25.75	71.74	39	50	100	66.6	58.33	40.69
Girls								
D	93.33	100	75	--	--	100	100	89.13
Q	91.66	63.5	76.2	50	44.44	75	76.9	81.2
Boys								
D	100	100	100	100	--	100	66.6	96.9
Q	60.1	66.6	51.6	50	68.7	71.4	68	60
Total G. + B								
D	99	100	81.8	100	--	100	80	91

[1] /school attendance ratio of children 7-14 years old in the city of Pikine — by districts and quarters — see cat. 116 pp 38 and 41 for explanation — AN/

/182/

/183 cont./

871 On the other hand, the backwardness of the girls, which was particularly marked among the Wolof and the Toucouleur, disappears almost completely among the Wolof of the districts, whereas one Toucouleur girl out of four in the districts still does not go to school.

191 871 In all respects one observes a radical change which distinguishes the generations: the one of the present parents is, in the majority, illiterate and knows only a little French. The situation is reversed with the rising generation, thanks to the effort toward educational equipment. This upset will be even more noticeable in the female population, for in 20 years more than half the mothers of families living in Pikine will have been to school, while at present one finds scarcely any.

V. Religion

791 795 162 A final factor should be studied because of its considerable cultural influence: that of religion. In Pikine the vast majority of inhabitants are Moslems, so that, in addition to membership in a religious confession properly speaking, we have differentiated membership in a definite Islamic sect. This leads to five different categories within Islam: two of these are sects of wide geographic scope, the Tidjanes and the Khadres, one is peculiar to the Senegal, Muridism, and one is encountered above all in the region of Cape Verde, the Layens; finally, some individuals, while calling themselves Moslems, declare that they do not belong to any sect.

795 162 Here (p.43) is the table of the various sects or religious confessions into which the inhabitants of Pikine are divided, first in absolute figures and then in percentages.

It suffices to underline the points that these tables clearly bring to light. First, the numerical preponderance of the Tidjanes over the assemblage of the other confessions.

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Table 21

Confession	Tid.	Kh.	Mur.	Lay.	Without sect.	Cath.
Average number of individuals per home	5.86	5.27	4.29	3.33	3.88	4.25

Let us note that this remark applies to the Wolof, for the difference of percentage in the case of the Sérère or the Toucouleur is too slight to enable one to draw any valid indications from it.

/186/ Let us now compare the religious affiliation of the districts and the quarters. We have the following table, always in percentages, for the male heads of families within each of these two categories. /Table 22 appears here./

Table 22

Confession	Tid.	Kh.	Mur.	Lay.	Without sect	Cath.	Total
% Quarters	46.6	16	32.3	1.6	1.6	1.9	100
% Districts	54.8	19	7.1	2.4	2.4	14.3	100

Thus one observes two opposite movements: on the one hand, the percentage of all the sects increases as one passes from the quarters to the districts; on the other, this percentage decreases in the case of the Murids who are relatively and absolutely much more numerous in the quarters than in the districts. On the basis of this one could comment on the incompatability of Muridism and durable construction. Rather than launching ourselves on risky interpretations, let us content ourselves with observing the fact and noting that it runs in the same direction as the following observation obtained from the respective percentages of the literates and illiterates

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/186 cont./
of each sect. /Table 23 appears here./

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Table 23

Confession	Tid.	Kh.	Mur.	Lay.	Without sect	Cath.	Av.
Literate	22	8.5	10.3	22.2	11.2	50	21.5
Illiterate	78	91.5	89.7	77.8	88.8	50	78.5
Total	100						100

The number of Moslems declared as without sect is too small to give any valid information. The small number of literates among the Khadres comes from the Moors, and their proportion doubles if one does not take the latter into consideration. Hence there remain only the Murids, among whom the proportion of literates does not come to half /187/ of the average percentage: 10.3 instead of 21.5. If one cannot say that Muridism specifically encourages illiteracy, neither can one say that it develops a taste and desire for learning among its adepts; the foregoing fact would tend rather to show that it plays the role of a curb, voluntary or involuntary, in the same measure that illiteracy constitutes a force of inertia to be conquered and that education, on the contrary, perpetuates itself. In any case, the intellectual elite of the Pikine population prefers to join the other sects.

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VI. Habitat and Family

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After having presented the social framework of the whole society of Pikine, we shall conclude this quick study by showing first the material factors that condition its mode of existence, and then a certain number of general considerations concerning the structure of the urban family.

17: Mercier--25 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/24 cont./

b) These simplified data call for some commentary. What is the significance of the sometimes important differences that we affirm between the situations that prevail in the different strata?

The high proportion, among the farmers, of households that coincide with the restricted family -- a proportion clearly higher than the average -- is explained by the fact that we are dealing more with market-gardeners than with farmers of the traditional type (as are found in the suburban villages). In any case, the problem has not been studied for a sufficient number of cases for us to draw definitive conclusions here.

/25/ Besides this category, for which we lack certain explanatory factors, only two others noticeably exceed the average established for the whole population: on the one hand, the superior employees and functionaries; on the other hand, members of the teaching profession, doctors, etc. The important factor here is the degree of Westernization (1).

1. The only categories whose members have all been to the French school.

It is only on this level that we have ascertained facts not only on the topological dispersion of the group of relatives, but also on the very clear loosening of the obligations flowing from kinship ties. Let us add that in reality the number of restricted families is much more important. In the majority of households which include one person in addition to the restricted family, this person is a domestic lodging with the family (who is sometimes a distant relative). The change in structure is therefore clearer than it would seem in view of the raw figures.

c) This first general view shows, as in other domains -- we shall see this soon for the structure of even the restricted family -- that the characteristics of the socio-occupational

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871 Education has developed in a remarkable fashion; each year more than 2,000 school children attend the public and private schools. The number of young pupils also has increased steadily, but only for the past dozen years. The modern college, because of its inadequate size, refuses numerous requests for admission every year. In spite of the annual opening of new classes, it can be estimated that only one child out of three of school age attends school.

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4. The Social Structure of the City

1. The Whites.

In 1955 we are far from the heroic epoch when Thiès was considered an unhealthy place and when the mortality was very high. The arrival of the first European families at the beginning of this century could be considered an important event. It marked the possibility of permanently implanting a white colony in the escale.

The climate has been made more bearable by the many improvements in comfort that have created a propitious atmosphere for the establishment of family life. [162] In 1953 there were almost 1,200 women out of 2,700 Whites.

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The European population is divided into a certain number of "milieus": army, operatives of the Dakar-Niger, officials, merchants. Contact between any of these assemblages is very loose: with few exceptions the relations between individuals belonging to different groups are not very frequent; there is visiting only among people of the same background. The transfer of personnel, which is repeated every two years, has the result that the time of residence is not ordinarily long enough for a newcomer to break away from his milieu. A certain apathy and a lack of curiosity limit these human contacts with neighboring groupings.

The armed forces, and Dakar-Niger, because of the very conception of their internal organization, live in isolation. Each of them has its co-operative, its club, its

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

to the Federal Government. In 1904, however, when the distinct Federal budget was instituted, custom duties were lost to the various colonies. The General Council of Senegal protested vigorously. Its spokesmen said that the Federal Government had taken away 78 per cent. of the colony's revenue and only assumed 39 per cent. of its expenditure. So strongly did the Council feel on the question that it impugned the validity of the federal financial arrangements before the Council of State at Paris. This latter body, as was to be expected, confirmed them in 1908, but the Senegalese have never fully accepted the new system. In 1929, for example, it was stated that Senegal was contributing half the customs revenue of French West Africa, though containing only one-tenth of its population. Moreover, despite its democratic Colonial Council, the colony has no more direct influence in federal affairs than Mauritania. Even to-day protests are still heard periodically against the financial system of the Federation and its alleged encroachments on the sphere of the Colonial Government.

Christianity

The first definite record of a Christian mission is that of the French Capuchins, who sailed from Dieppe in 1635. They divided into two parties: one, under Pères Alexis and Bernardin, landed at Rufisque, where they were entertained by Portuguese Christians. During their stay they baptized 27 natives. The other party landed at St. Louis, where there was not yet a permanent French settlement, and met with misfortune. Some of them died, and the survivors joined their brothers at Rufisque. The Protestant Dutch made life impossible for them, and the whole party returned to France. Though from time to time priests of the Society of the Holy Spirit (founded in 1726 to train missionaries for the French colonies) visited Senegal, no serious missionary effort seems to have been made till after the Peace of Paris, when the first Prefect Apostolic was appointed to St. Louis.

The first nuns to work in Senegal were of the community of St. Joseph of Cluny. These were sent out in 1819 to St. Louis at the request of the Governor to undertake nursing and education. The community established two schools in St. Louis and one in Goree in 1826.

In 1846 the first mission was founded at Dakar, which the same year became the seat of the Vicar Apostolic of the Two Guineas. These missionaries belonged to the Society of the Sacred Heart

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

36 [131] [162] BIGNONA (12° 49′; 16° 16′ W.). Altitude, *c.* 60 feet. Population, 1,611. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Military post. Emergency landing-ground. Garage.

Bignona stands on the left bank of a small and marshy tributary of the Casamance. Canoes carry a certain amount of merchandise, as [438] also do lorries. The principal items of trade are ground-nuts, palm [162] kernels, wax, rice, and fruit. Most of the native inhabitants are Dioulas.

Colonial roads lead south to the Casamance opposite Ziguinchor [491] (16 miles), east to Sedhiou (58 miles) and Kolda (120 miles), and north-west to Diouloulou (35 miles) and the frontier of the Gambia (46 miles). There are also several minor roads and tracks.

[131] [162] DAGANA (16° 27′; 15° 34′ W.). Altitude, 13 feet. Population, *c.* 3,500. District headquarters. Medical post. Emergency landing-ground. Regional School. Race-course.

[439] Dagana is on the left bank of the Senegal, and its chief economic function is as a market for Mauritanian gum. This is shipped down [487] river to St. Louis, 116 miles away. There is also connexion upstream to Podor (61 miles), Bakel (403 miles), and Kayes (487 miles).

[491] By colonial road Dagana is 86 miles from St. Louis and 332 miles from Kidira. It is on the bus service (p. 474) between these two [494] places. Southwards another colonial road leads across sparsely inhabited country to Dahra (89 miles) and Diourbel (162 miles). From the opposite bank of the Senegal a track goes to Mederdra, some 30 miles distant.

[131] [162] DIOURBEL (14° 39′; 16° 10′ W.). Altitude, 39 feet. Population, 15,442. Mixed Commune. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Police headquarters. Emergency landing-ground. Power station. Hotel. Garage. Daily market.

This flourishing town lies across the little Sine river in the middle of a well-cultivated shallow valley. To the north the ground rises [438] somewhat. Diourbel owes its prosperity to ground-nuts, and 100,000 tons of them pass through the town every year. There are [258] several factories for the shelling of the nuts and for the expression of their oil. Besides this, Diourbel is the headquarters of the province [162] of Baol and a route centre. Its inhabitants are mainly Moslems, who [87] have a large and important mosque. There is also a special school for sons of chiefs.

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Courts of Law

692 The Court of Assize sits at Dakar, and the Tribunals of First Instance sit at Dakar, Kaolack, and St. Louis. There is a Magistrate's Court at Ziguinchor, and there are Moslem Courts at Dakar, Rufisque, and St. Louis. In each province and full commune there are the usual native courts, and the Colonial Court of Appeal for Senegal sits at St. Louis. There is a separate one for the District of Dakar.

In addition to the local courts, the West African Court of Appeal and the Supreme Native Court of Appeal are both held at Dakar.

Native Organization

631 All the old chiefdoms and kingdoms have now disappeared. On
177 the other hand, owing to their representation on the Colonial Council, chiefs in Senegal to-day exercise greater influence than in other colonies. They are appointed and paid by the Government, and they can usually be relied on to supply an official majority. In 1925 they induced the Government to raise their salaries, which now range from 7,600 francs to 36,500 francs per annum. The chiefs are divided into no less than twelve grades. Most of them have [871] been educated at the École des Fils des Chefs et des Interprètes at St. Louis.

Land Tenure

423 By 31 December 1937 provisional concessions had been granted over an area of 12 square miles and concessions over 15 square miles. By the same date there had been granted under the immatriculation system 9,630 certificates of title, covering 177 square miles. Under the process of Confirmation of Native Land Rights, 40 certificates had been granted, covering 3½ square miles. These figures are very small for the size and population of the colony.

Labour

466 The Colonial Council is responsible for the fact that forced
[646] labour has been redeemable by every person since 1921. This reform did not become universal in the Federation till several years later. In 1930 a resolution of the same council compelled owners of motor vehicles to lend them for work under the same system.

In 1935 there were 408,000 persons on the forced labour rolls, 1,415,000 man-days were worked, and 561,300 francs were paid in

22nWinterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

647 656 *Produce Inspection.* Produce inspection is entrusted to a board nominated by the Chambers of Commerce, but the Government keeps a tight control by exercising a veto on all important appointments to its staff. The Board's inspectorate has very wide powers of inspection over produce, whether destined for local consumption or for export. No produce to which inspection applies can be sent out [439] of the colony without a certificate of purity.

[651] For this inspection a special tax of 5 francs per ton on ground-nuts and palm kernels, and 20 francs per ton on rubber, is imposed on produce intended for export.

456 654 *Native Provident Societies.* There are 14 Native Provident Societies. Bignona and Ziguinchor have combined, but otherwise [647] there is one to each province. In 1937 they had 1,200,000 members, whose annual subscriptions varied from 2·50 francs to 5·00 francs each, and their expenses were some 25,000,000 francs. They supplied over 44,000 tons of ground-nut seeds to their members.

[232] In earlier days the Sine-Saloum society imported stallions from the Argentine for the breeding of mules, and in 1932 the societies devoted nearly 250,000 francs to the purchase of motor vehicles. In cattle-breeding districts they supply breeding stock and improve water-supply and pasturage. By 1933 it was estimated that the societies had sunk over 1,200 wells, while the society of Thiès had [317] constructed a barrage for irrigation purposes.

[926] In addition to strictly agricultural activities, the Senegal societies help their members by advances of cash, which are made not only to meet failure of crops, but also in cases of individual accident or illness.

Mining

656 316 At the end of 1937 the following permits were in force:

Personal licences		4
The Occupation System		
Exclusive licences	10	
Mining licences	32	
Concessions	16	
	—	58
Total		62

Education

●871 1197 The first attempts to educate the natives of French West Africa were made in Senegal, and they were also remarkable for being instituted, not by missionaries, but by the Crown. Colonel Schmaltz

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took with him a lay schoolmaster, who opened a school for boys at St. Louis in 1817. Its pupils varied in number from 60 to 100, and it continued under state and lay control until 1841. In that year its management was handed over to Roman Catholic priests, while the Government undertook to maintain the school and to pay for its equipment and the salaries of its teachers.

Girls' education dates from 1826, when the Sisters of St. Joseph of Cluny founded schools at St. Louis and Goree.

By 1854 there were four schools in Senegal. They all belonged to Roman Catholic missions supported by government grants, and they counted only 590 pupils on their rolls. There were difficulties regarding the admission of Moslems to these schools and, as Islam was the prevailing faith, the spread of education was hindered. In 1857 Faidherbe opened a Moslem School at St. Louis, and until 1903 this remained the only lay primary school in Senegal. By 1898 there were 9 primary schools in the four communes and about 30 in the protectorate. These were staffed by interpreters and non-commissioned officers, and their existence was spasmodic. At that time elementary education throughout French West Africa was mainly in the hands of the missions, and, so far as the Government took any interest in it at all, it was organized by local regulations in each colony. The Governor-General's order of 24 November 1903 set up a uniform system of state-controlled education throughout the Federation.

In 1938 Senegal and Dakar had 132 European teachers and 337 native in Government schools and 48 teachers in recognized private schools. Pupils were arranged as follows:

	Schools	*Boys*	*Girls*	*Total pupils*
GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS				
Primary				
Village schools	72	5,946	241	6,187
Regional schools	16	4,590	432	5,022
Urban schools	10	3,392	752	4,144
Higher Primary	2	158	14	172
Technical	4	146	0	146
	104	14,232	1,439	15,671
PRIVATE SCHOOLS				
Primary	13	1,164	293	1,457
Totals	117	15,396	1,732	17,128

There were also 2,295 Moslem schools giving rudimentary instruction to 16,190 pupils.

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In 1927 apprentice courses in woodwork and metalwork were started in St. Louis and Kaolack by the Public Works Department for selected schoolboys between the ages of 13 and 16 years.

There is a number of educational institutions in Dakar of a higher grade than primary. These are the responsibility of the Federal Government and have been described in Volume I.

Health

Senegal is divided into thirteen medical districts, each of which is intended to be under the supervision of a European medical officer. There are 17 medical stations, each under a native auxiliary. There are also 16 maternity centres and 117 posts visited once a week by a medical officer.

In 1937 Senegal and Dakar had 3 major hospitals and 34 minor hospitals and dispensaries. These provided 394 beds for European patients and 1,805 for native. There were 80 European medical officers, 31 native auxiliaries, 30 midwives, 124 male nurses, and 21 female nurses.

In addition there were four travelling parties (*groupes sanitaires mobiles*). One of these specialized in fighting sleeping-sickness in the Casamance Territory, and the other three were concerned with more general sanitary and prophylactic measures.

The Pasteur Institute at Dakar, a federal concern, is justly famous. Some medical work is done by missionaries. Unofficial committees of the Croix-Rouge are concerned with infant welfare at Dakar, Diourbel, St. Louis, and Tivaouane.

In 1937 Senegal voted 12,000,000 francs for medical services and Dakar 11,000,000 francs.

10. PORTS

St. Louis (16° 01′; 16° 30′ W.). Population, 30,586, including 1,231 Europeans. Colonial capital of Senegal and of Mauritania. Full Commune. Headquarters of the province of Bas Sénégal. Custom-house. Law courts. Chamber of Commerce. Hospital and dispensary. Army headquarters and barracks. Police headquarters. Belgian Consulate. Meteorological station. Landing-ground. Wireless station. Lycée Faidherbe. École des Fils des Chefs et des Interprètes. Higher Primary and Technical Schools. Protestant and Roman Catholic missions. Bank of West Africa. Power station. Prison. Hotels. Garages. Race-course. Botanical gardens. Experimental plantation. Daily market.

/103 cont./

633 instance, a customs office, and a telegraph, telephone, and
[647] post office. The various administrative services are represented
there (public works, treasury, medical aid, education, agri-
culture, veterinary medicine, etc.).

433 Financial situation. Taxes. The circle of Sine-Saloum
is constantly increasing in importance because of its size,
population, and economic resources.

[496] Because of its exceptional location, the railway from
[49] the Sudan crosses it over a distance of 190 kilometers. Seven
[505] stations mark it out. Its railroad network and its system of
highways and canals permit it to drain to Kaolack and
[439] Foundiougne all of the products of the soil. Thus, the total
commerce for 1927 (imports and exports combined) amounted
651 to 350 million francs for the circle. The customs duties col-
lected for the benefit of the general budget of French West
Africa reached 13 million francs. The taxes from the tax
rolls (personal taxes, patents, licenses, etc.) have risen to
25 million francs, whereas they did not exceed the figure of
4,300,000 francs in 1923. The advance is thus remarkable.

Native personal taxes alone in 1927 provided 3,768,355 francs, whereas in 1921 they brought in only 2,791,000 francs.

Taxes on livestock went from 270,000 francs in 1921 to 425,000 francs in 1927.

● 871 /104/ Education. Instruction is given to the children
[875] by French and native teachers. There is a regional school
[872] with 500 pupils at Kaolack. Primary schools are operating
at Fatick, Foundiougne, Sokone, Gossas, Kaffrine, and
Nioro. In all, 1,200 children receive instruction; only an
elite goes to school. A need for the creation of new centers
of education is felt, especially at Birkelane, Koungheul,
Gandiaye, Niakhar, and Tataguine. Nevertheless, although
instruction in French is given only in our schools, the natives
also receive some rudiments of instruction in the Koranic
schools. The latter are quite numerous.

1 [in KAOLACK - ANALYST]

/125 cont./

443 Markets. Fairs. Daily markets have been established in the mixed communes of Kaolack, Foundiougne, Fatick, and Gossas, as well as in the important centers such as Guinguinéo, Birkelane, Kaffrine, Koungheul, Nioro, Saboya, Sokone, and Gandiaye. Those of the mixed communes and important ports are much frequented and have a good trade.

In addition, cattle markets have been held monthly at Kaolack since 1924.

543 Fairs have been instituted in order to familiarize the public with the principal products of the region. A first Fair-Exposition was held at Kaolack in June 1925; it was a great success. It had been organized with the co-operation of the administration and commerce. This happy attempt was renewed in April 1926 with the same success. The governor-general, M. Carde, was present at these two fine manifestations of the economic life of a region in full development.

453 /126/ Banks. The dependable index of the development of commercial transactions is given to us by the banking groups which have been established at Kaolack.

The Banque de l'Afrique Occidentale Française opened a branch in the chief town of the circle in 1927. Moreover, other credit establishments had preceded it. An agency of the Banque française d'Afrique was opened in 1924. The Banque Commerciale africaine followed in 1925.

● 871 Education. It is necessary to educate the native if we want him later to be our collaborator in the work of colonization. We are realizing this duty by the public schooling which is given at Kaolack in a regional school attended by nearly 500 children; a home economics school is attached to it. Primary schools where the number of pupils is very great are in operation at Fatick, Foundiougne, Gossas, Kaffrine, Nioro, and Sokone.

874 461 It is also necessary to develop vocational education because we lack good workers. We are going to be in want of artisans if we do not remedy a situation which had already appeared in this region several years ago. Unfortunately, the